

Five New Charters During the Week, Makes a Total of 64 Since the Convention!

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 3.

CHICAGO, MARCH 16, 1907.

50c. a Year.

Members Executive Board:

VINCENT ST. JOHN... GOLDFIELD, REV.
A. MAICHELE... SCHENECTADY, N. Y.
V. A. COLE... BLUE ISLAND, ILL.
F. W. HESLEWOOD... GREENWOOD, S. C.
EUBENE FISCHER... NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

St. John at Frisco

That the wage slaves of San Francisco will not sit idly and see their true leaders judicially murdered by the "law and order" gang of Mine Owners' Association is a well grounded conclusion of all those that were fortunate enough to be at the mass protest meeting held by the Industrial Workers of the World and the trades organization of this city. The meeting was the outcome of a circular letter addressed by the I. W. W. to the trades unions.

At the first meeting of the conference over twenty-five local unions were represented by their delegates.

A committee was elected to visit all the unions of the city and ask them to elect representatives to the defense league.

The committee appeared before all it could and received a welcome all around from the rank and file, although in some cases opposed by the "labor leaders."

It was decided to make the meeting a success and that no stone should be left unturned in making it a success, so we secured Vincent St. John, member of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W., to come all the way from Goldfield, Nev., and tell the story not only of his own arrest, kidnapping and deportation to the Boise Bastille, but also the story of the suffering of his fellow workers and victims Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

An invitation was extended to the S. F. Labor Council, S. F. Building Trades Council and the Water Front Federation, all to send a speaker to represent them at the demonstration meeting. Strange to state only the Labor Council consented by sending Walter MacArthur to represent them.

The San Francisco Federation of Labor was represented by its president, G. A. Tracy, a printer by trade. The meeting to protest against the crimes perpetrated upon our comrades and against the further imprisonment without trial, was held last Sunday, March 3rd, 1907, at the Walton Pavilion.

The hall was filled with a capacity of the hall is nearly four thousand, and it was filled notwithstanding the fact that the Citizens' Alliance and labor leaders like P. H. McCarthy and O. E. Tetmoe of the S. F. Building Trades Council tried to wreck the enterprise by urging their dupes and followers to forsake the hall and go to the streets for "Civic pride and patriotism."

It was explained that the owners of property and the Honorable and Ancient Order of Overall Carvers would rule the streets in clearing the streets of "our beautiful city."

Needless to state the members of the "Patriotic Order" failed to turn out and work and the members of the working class also disappointed their masters by failing to go to work for glory and a sandwich. But the workers of the city turned out and packed the hall to suffocation to hear Vincent St. John and other men explain the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone outrage.

The meeting was presided over by Lewis Chester, a member of striking and outraged Electrical Workers Union No. 6 of the I. E. W. (I say outraged because P. H. McCarthy has organized a scab union against No. 6, because it had the hardihood to go out on strike without giving the bosses ninety days' notice.) The chairman stated very briefly the object of the meeting and introduced G. A. Tracy as the first speaker, who made a short address. He was followed by Walter MacArthur, of the S. F. Labor Council and the American Federation of Labor, who spoke at some length.

He stated that the decision of the Supreme Court was open to criticism. His speech was a good one. He stated that the American Federation of Labor would do the best it could in behalf of the imprisoned comrades.

The German Socialist Mannerchor gave some songs in their native tongue during which the collection was taken up, netting a total sum of \$288.00. But the enthusiasm of the day was manifested when the chairman introduced Vincent St. John. The applause lasting for several minutes, he handled the crowd with a sure hand. He was in the air, it was an outburst of enthusiasm of working men and women for a man they recognized as flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone. His remarks were frequently interrupted by applause. St. John is no orator it may be said, but he is a working man who has lived in the struggle and his description of the sufferings of the comrades in jail was told by him in a masterly way. He made no attempt at eloquence, but when he said "The master class have imprisoned leaders, and if they start the ball rolling by hanging Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, we will roll the ball to the bitter end," the class feelings of the workers was aroused to its duty. His speech was partly reported in the San Francisco Chronicle, in a fair statement of the facts, although we do not as yet get such fair reports. St. John said, in part: "The meeting will serve as a notice to the capitalists that they have reached the end

of their rope, and can trample on the rights of union labor no longer. We must make the class opposed to us understand in no uncertain way that by the kidnapping and threatened execution of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, their policy is an open book to us and we know that its ultimate goal is slavery."

"The mine owners are serving notice on us by their actions in Idaho and Colorado that they will stop at no crime to serve their purpose. I say to the capitalists: 'You have broken the laws you have made; you have failed to live up to the rules of the game you have written; and we, the working class of the United States and of the world will show you that it is a game at which we also can play.'"

"We draw up resolutions and contribute our coin to feed the lawyers; we do everything to avoid a physical and violent settlement of this question, but back of all this, let me tell you that it is force which wins. Let the spirit of the knights of the Magna Charta animate us, and then only will the capitalists realize that they have reached the end of their rope."

"It is not because of these three men that we protest, it is because when we have a leader, an officer, or an organization which cannot be defeated, or bribed or bought, the capitalists can use the machinery of the law to clear them from their path, and this seals the doom of all honest labor leaders."

"This meeting is a physical assembly to serve notice on capital that we know its game; we know the end it seeks, and never while we have life in our bodies, will it accomplish it. The only way to destroy the Western Federation of Miners is to hang every man who has a union card in that organization. If they start the ball rolling by attempting to execute these three men, we will see that the ball rolls to the bitter end. They have shown us that they will stop at nothing. Well, we will meet them at their own game. These meetings say to the capitalists: 'Halt, you have run your race—your day is done.'"

The resolutions were introduced by the organizer of the I. W. W. and the reference to the Civic Federation received a well merited applause.

The I. W. W. was well represented by its speaker, George Speed, who not only took well with the workingmen but took the occasion to pay his respects to the press. The meeting was adjourned after almost three hours of discussion of the crimes the capitalist class has committed against Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. After the meeting had adjourned and the crowd was outside, they sang the "Marseillaise" with a vim.

It may be stated here that the meeting held in this last year ended in good sized riot, on account of the police interfering with the parade.

But this time two forces combined to end the meeting peacefully. First the workers would not allow the police to draw them into a fight and second the police were not anxious for any street fighting because the bricks are too handy about the streets on account of the earthquake, to be used on their "law and order" heads.

The Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone defense league propose to keep up the good work until our comrades are free. With best wishes, I am yours truly.

JOSEPH J. ETTOR.

Evansville Painters Protest

In Behalf of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

Unanimously adopted by Painters' Local Union No. 156, Feb. 25, 1907, Evansville, Ind.

Whereas, The capitalist of the west have conspired to crush the organization of "labor," and to this end have brushed aside all pretense of justice, setting at naught the rights of habeas corpus trial by jury and the other safeguards of freedom, they so loudly proclaim exist, and have kidnapped three members of our class, and are seeking to murder them, not because they are Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, but because they represent an organization which stands uncompromisingly for the economic interests of the working class; and

Whereas, If these men are saved, it must be by the united effort of the working class, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Local Union No. 156, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America in regular meeting assembled, call on all wage earners of this country to unite as a class and use every effort to save our brothers from the gallows which the capitalists are erecting for them.

These be the times that try men's souls. When individuals commit crimes "they violate the law," but when the officials of a state violate their oath, they destroy it—inveit anarchy, make liberty impossible and thus their crime becomes as much greater than that of the individuals as the state is greater than an individual.

When Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnapped and with the connivance of the governors and other state officials of two states and held prisoners for a year without a trial, contrary to all those safeguards alleged to have been enacted for the purpose of insuring individual liberty; it is safe

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT

From Far and Near

to say that no greater crime than that has been committed in the U. S. during the last century.

The constitution of those states and of the U. S. were set aside, kidnapping usurped the place of legal procedure, the liberty of every citizen was undermined and an open invitation was extended to all having a real or an imaginary grievance, to become "a law unto themselves."

In the Dred Scott decision handed down by Chief Justice Taney, it was held that a black man had no rights that a white man was bound to respect.

Now the supreme court decides that the workers (called free men) have no rights that the capitalists are bound to respect.

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The former decision was wiped out in rivers of blood; therefore be it

Resolved, That while we are willing to abide by the laws of our capitalist masters, while obedience is possible, even to the point where slavery begins, we will not obey beyond that point; and that if in addition to the fact that the rich cannot be brought to trial even when their crimes are not denied and the workers cannot get a trial when their captors refuse to release them, we will end this regime, "peaceably, if possible, but forcibly if we must."

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the governors of the United States, to the president of the U. S., to representatives in congress of this district, and to the press. JOHN COAKLEY, C. L. RYAN, CHAS. GIBSON, J. C. SUTHERLAND, Committee on Resolutions. ALBERT KNIGHTS, President. E. J. ROSENBLATT, Secretary.

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enchained by the very organization which they support with their dues. The unorganized workers stand together better than the workers in the craft unions.

We of the Industrial Workers of the World are preparing for the general strike. But not to enforce any immediate demand alone, or for a cessation of work that will compel us to leave the factory or the mine. We are organizing and preparing to take possession of mine and factory and all the means of employment. We will set up an industrial government against the capitalist government. That is our object and our goal; that is the object of Syndicalism in Italy and of Industrial Unionism everywhere. It is the object of the constructive, practical Socialism of the world. It is the rebellion of the working class against the professional intellectual class and the political henchmen of capitalism and bourgeois reform. We will take concessions as they come, but we must keep our eyes on the final object. What today is secured at by intellectual parliamentarians is the growing world power that will finally free the working class from its chains.

Resolved, That we, the citizens of the United States, where justice is supposed to reign supreme, do hereby demand the immediate release of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, or a fair and impartial trial of the said miners at the earliest possible moment.

Resolved, That we commend Justice McKenna of the U. S. Supreme Court for his act of justice in delivering a dissenting opinion favorable to said miners.

Resolved, That we send copies of these resolutions to the proper officials and the press.

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and are now being held without due process of law; and,

Whereas, They have been refused a speedy trial in direct conflict with the constitution of the United States; be it

Resolved, That we, wage workers of the city of Bridgeport, assembled at an open meeting, February 28, held under the auspices of Local Union No. 226, I. W. W., at 1285 Main street, do protest against the unlawful actions of the States of Colorado and Idaho;

Resolved, That we, the citizens of the United States, where justice is supposed to reign supreme, do hereby demand the immediate release of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, or a fair and impartial trial of the said miners at the earliest possible moment.

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GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER
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CHICAGO, ILL.

Portland Mill Men Strike

Industrial Unionists are cutting a wide swath at Portland, Oregon, where there is a big strike on mill men and woodworkers. The strike was inaugurated Friday, March 1, and involves hundreds of men not members of the I. W. W., but who are manifesting a class solidarity that is highly commendable. While the employers are doing all in their power to break the strike by inducing non-union men to go to Portland, the I. W. W. men have been so active in getting information over the country that the scheme is not working to the employers' satisfaction. The strikers are loyally supported by the longshoremen men, and will be actively in the fight, should it become necessary. The strike grew out of the refusal of the owners of one mill at Portland to advance the pay of lumber chime men 25 cents per day.

Fred W. Heslewood and Jos. J. Ettor of the Industrial Workers of the World, are representing this organization in the struggle and already it is apparent that in the far-western city, where we are already nearly a thousand strong, our lines will be very materially strengthened. Influenced by the prestige gained by the I. W. W. in conducting the strike of the mill workers, the Portland Bakers' Union, which has enrolled about 30 of the 125 bakers in the city, sent a committee to wait on the officers of the I. W. W. and announced their intention of pulling out of the American Federation of Labor and joining the Industrial Workers.

While this fight is on the Portland local unions are sending for all sorts of supplies and literature and have made no call for assistance.

This is what one local daily newspaper says of the situation. "The I. W. W. headquarters at Burnside street were crowded to the doors this morning by sawmill men who had come to enroll themselves on the union books. The financial secretary was nearly rushed to death and at one time there were at least 250 sawmill men in the hall. The large saw was not large enough to accommodate them and special strike headquarters were established at 300 Davis street." Of the I. W. W. the same paper has the following: "The Industrial Workers of the World is a radical labor union not in any way connected with the American Federation of Labor. It is rather an offshoot of the American Federation of Labor, organized about two years ago because of the tactics employed by the Gompers machine to smother the advocates of industrial unionism within the American Federation of Labor. It claims thousands of members and has become strong mainly in the districts previously poorly organized. Its general plan is to organize all the laborers, whether skilled or not, and to prevent the growth of what is known as the 'aristocracy of labor.' The federation is slow to organize unskilled workers, the I. W. W. is quick to do so. This is the reason why the sawmill men are joining the numerically weaker organization."

The manager of the big mill against which the American Federation of Labor has been inaugurated, and who has been inaugurated all along that they would do no business with a labor organization, sent for Heslewood on the 8th inst. In the interview the manager admitted his business was completely tied up and all indications point to an early settlement and victory for the I. W. W. The membership of the local has increased to over 1,300 while the strike is on.

General Electric Industrialists

The reorganization at Schenectady of the General Electric Industrial Workers' Union has broken the back of the opposition put up by fakirs. Our membership is solid and enthusiastic for Industrial Unionism, which they now see they did not have before as a part of the now defunct metal and machinery department. Organizer Thompson's work has produced the results, the co-operation with the earnest support of the members, and we are going to have every man worth having in a short time. A new hall for regular meetings has been engaged, for which \$80 a month rent will be paid, and the fakirs who thought we were dead have reluctantly come to the conclusion that we are very much alive. As a consequence members who were deceived and misled by the Fitzconnans acknowledge their error and are coming back. Schenectady workers begin to realize, as never before, that all other ground except Industrial Unionism is sinking sand.

Information Wanted

Anyone knowing the present address of C. C. McIntosh will confer a great favor on me by sending information to 310 Bush Temple, Chicago.

A. L. MCINTOSH.

Industrial Workers of the World
Headquarters — 310 Bush Temple,
Chicago, Ill.

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WHY THEY WANT HAYWOOD

From time to time during the past year, while the officers of the Western Federation of Miners have been incarcerated in an Idaho jail awaiting and demanding trial for a crime they never committed, the declaration has been made that whatever the outcome of the kidnapping might be, Haywood must go to the gallows. On more than one occasion it has been made clear that the mine owning gang of conspirators were not much concerned about Moyer or Pettibone, but it was of the highest importance that they succeed in "getting" Wm. D. Haywood. There is not the slightest doubt that McParland was speaking for the Mine Owners' Association, when, after the jury disagreed in the Steve Adams case, he said: "Well, now we will go after Haywood, and I will see that he goes to the gallows; we don't care for the two others, but Haywood is too dangerous as an agitator, he must be done away with."

Why is it they are so anxious to "get" Haywood? The reason is obvious. It was Haywood who systematically worked for what might be called the "higher education" in economics within the ranks of the Western Federation. It was Haywood among all the officers of that organization who first grasped the philosophy of Socialism and through him that the revolt against the capitalist system as a whole was largely augmented. He has never been the advocate of conspiracies or the methods of intrigue common to those who, whether in the labor movement or out of it, seek to accomplish their purposes behind closed doors and in the dark. Always an advocate of education, he has ever been opposed to secret meetings. Conspirators work in the dark; Haywood worked in the light. So strong was he in a broad, sound consciousness of the world, his cause, and his entire dependence upon the power of thought and an educational propaganda for its triumph, that he came to be marked as the one distinctively "dangerous" man; the man whose activities and influence must be stopped. Capitalist interests are everywhere opposed to the enlightenment of the working class along lines that threaten to disturb them. The other day at the Chicago University, Mallock, English spokesman for exploitation, declared education to be the hindrance for the workers, and he spoke for the class which seeks to crush the Western Federation and "get" Haywood. Haywood typifies the opposing element in labor's ranks which believes in education and more of it. He is "dangerous" only as an "agitator"—an educator.

In the open meeting, with all proceedings conducted without secrecy, where all that is done is an open book to whomsoever may care to know, there is little opportunity, or none at all, for the hire thuggery of capitalist conspirators. Into the secret meeting, as was the case with the Molly Maguires, the designing and murderous spy penetrates and preys. Had the Western Federation been conducted in a dark lantern, the secret assembly, instead of working in the open and in the light of day, the McParlands would have succeeded in their dastardly outrages against Haywood, St. John, Moyer and all the rest just as they did in Pennington, but the open house and open meetings of the Western Federation will defeat them and the conspirators of Colorado and Idaho will not "get" Haywood.

AS TO THE JAPANESE

We have received from Oakland, Cal., a copy of "The Revolution," published by the Japanese of the Pacific Coast. It contains an article from a well known Japanese Socialist, Kiichi Kaneko, and, among other things, the writer says:

"So far as I know, not a single Socialist paper in this country spoke out plainly on this Japanese question (exclusion of the Japanese) without showing race prejudice. The capitalist press tried to see that the capitalist press had spread the most sensational and false news about the Japanese in the land, for they are captured by the capitalist class interest—the interest of dollars."

"I pity those who cannot think wholly. Partial thinking is the most dangerous method of thought. The agitators do this kind of thinking most all the time and call themselves scientific. What is the pity I bestow upon them? Their socialism is American socialism and not scientific socialism. It is national socialism, but not international socialism."

"Some of the Socialists here get themselves mixed with trade unionists and do not realize what socialism really means. Socialism is a scientific and international must be of a purely revolutionary character. It cannot be a compromise with the capitalist class. The Socialists who are afraid of losing the sympathy of trade unionists, pure and genuine, could not be revolutionary Socialists at all. It is no wonder that

the American Socialist movement, as shown by its last vote, cannot grow any faster."

The truth of much that Kaneko says is obvious; it is slowly penetrating the Socialist mind. There has beyond question been a growing disposition to disparage revolutionary Socialism, and as Kaneko says, or at least clearly intimates, a fear of "losing the sympathy" of pure and simple trade unionists. This, everybody knows, is true of the Social Democratic movement in Wisconsin, where concessions have been made to trade unionists to get their support. And in Chicago present conditions are prophetic of a coming disaster from the same cause.

Industrial Unionists hold that the workman born in Japan is equally eligible to membership in this organization with the workman born in Italy or England. As a matter of fact, Japanese workmen already hold card in the I. W. W., and more are coming. They are welcome to a little while, as events are happening, we will have strong local unions of the I. W. W. in the principal industrial centers of Japan. Parliamentary bodies in this country, backed by trade unionists who are not unionists, and "internationalists" who are nationalists only, may succeed in excluding the Japs, as a joint resolution introduced by a "Social Democrat" in the Wisconsin legislature memorializes Congress to do, but it will be an act of the provincial and the narrow, a denial and repudiation of the very soul of International Socialism, the federation of the workers of the world for the overthrow of capitalism and the capitalist class wherever they are found.

WHAT CAN THE WORKERS DO?

A question often raised by enemies of the working class, and one that is intended to show the impracticability of working-class action, is this: "What can the working class do?" Our answer is: **THE WORKING CLASS, PROPERLY ORGANIZED ON LINES OF INDUSTRIALISM, CAN DO EVERYTHING.** The question ought to be revised so as to read: "What is there that the working class cannot do?" A few hundred electrical workers in Paris recently demonstrated the power of the working class do things. They tied up the electric lighting plants, and the city was suddenly, and much to the disgust of the fashionable idle class which always swarms there, thrown into complete darkness. In this condition all Parisians, including the government section, were given a practical demonstration of the capacity of the workers, and during one entire night the latter, who alone could say "Let there be light!" had the brilliant throng of society guessing what they would do next. The public was alarmed at the ease with which a few hundred workers were able to bring confusion and utter darkness into the nightly revelry.

If the workers can do such a thing, what is there they may not do when they realize their power and are organized right? That question agitates Europe. And the answer comes in one word: **NOTHING!** All things are possible to the workers through effective organization that makes them masters of their own jobs and their own tools. When the power to control and operate the mine and the shop, the mill and the factory, the railway and all distributive agencies, is in the hands of the educated and disciplined working-class organization, there is no power left that can prevail against the working class. The duty, the mission of the workers is clear: Build up the organization, the industrial administration of your class, to take possession of all factors now used to enslave you.

TWO MEETINGS—A CONTRAST

Mallock and DeLeon spoke on the same day in Chicago. Mallock, the "smasher" of socialism imported from England by Belmont's Gompers' Civic Federation, lectured at that important Standard Oil institution, the University of Chicago, to a handful of well-groomed and well-fed people in the middle of the afternoon—admission free.

DeLeon spoke under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World, late at night, in the Ghetto, to 400 to 500 tired wage-slaves who paid an admission fee to cover expenses and collection. Mallock typifies capitalism on the defensive, trying to stem the rising tide of the revolution by gratuitous assertions: "Socialists are dreamers and utopians, and that Marxian economics, however seductively plausible," "false"—all with due mock solemnity and pretense of authority.

DeLeon typifies the working-class on the offensive, or rather, in its constructive work. His audience did not come to listen to hair-fine economic distinctions. The workers have now come to a stage where they have accepted as settled forever the quintessence of Marxian economics, namely, that "Labor produces all wealth and that the Laborer is entitled to the full product of his toil." What DeLeon's audience wanted was to know how to go about getting this product of their toil, and he did not disappoint them. To come with anything else before a working class audience today means disaster to the lecturer.

While Mallock was lulling his fashionable audience into a reverie of fancied security, DeLeon and his audience, in pointed interchange of opinions, were seriously discussing the ways and means to put an end to Capitalism and the method of the Federation building the industrial commonwealth of the near future, and seemed to reach the understanding that through industrial organization we would be able, in a few years, to "take and hold" the means of life. And what are Mallock and his paymaster, the Civic Federation, doing? The Standard Oil Co., going to do about it? It has gone so far that they can not even keep their own camp free from "traitors." His lecture was mainly addressed to the "highly educated" who are being contaminated by the spirit of the Revolution. What are Mallock and his friends to be able to gather an audience

such as DeLeon spoke to. The workers of today will pay the expenses incident to a discussion of how to establish the industrial commonwealth by means of production and distribution, but, wealthy as the Standard Oil Co. is, it has not money enough to hire the workers to listen to Mallock—except for sport.

We are surely getting upon evil days.

The entire social and industrial problem is on the eve of a complete adjustment; a settlement of the vexed question is imminent. Be it known to all men: A Social Democratic member of the Wisconsin legislature has introduced a resolution in regard to postal savings banks. It says that the important thing (to accomplish the overthrow of capitalism?) is to encourage frugality "on the part of the individual." It cites many instances where the postal savings bank has proven a "public advantage." It says that said banks "prevent poverty by the development of thrift." And there you are. Go back to your copy of Samuels' Smiles, your revolutionary Socialists, and learn that all you have to do in order TO PREVENT POVERTY is to become "frugal" and "thrifty!"

Industrial Unionists have been called the "confiscators of industry" because they propose to "take and hold" the tools and means of employment. And it fits us exactly. We make no pretense of gaining economic freedom for the middle class; we do not propose to liberate the economy against "coolie and Mongolian labor," or setting up a "postal savings bank," or making somebody an office holding attaché of a capitalist government. We are after a government of the working class, and against every other class—a government that will take possession of the things that are essential to the working class.

The modern facilities of production are so abundant and affluent that work is no longer necessary. Four hours a day is not to be called work, compared with the conditions today; and statistics prove that if every able-bodied man put in four hours a day, 100 days in the year, he could enjoy what now amounts to \$10,000 a year. Four hours a day will not be work, but pleasure—when the workers own the tools and the jobs. As Daniel De Leon said, "Four hours a day will liberate the body and ennoble the mind." Let us work for four hours a day and the tools.

It might be well for the workers to bear always in mind that they, as a class, have an equal right to organize and get ready to take possession of all they produce, with the present appropriators of wealth to burden future generations, as well as the present one, with evidences of their legal exploitation. We have more right to project our own economic "equality" than they to project into the future slavery and a continuance of economic barbarism. The future is ours, through organization and education.

We are assured by a "joint resolution" introduced by a Social Democrat in the Wisconsin legislature, that "the happiness and prosperity of the people depends upon the maintenance of peace," and that "international wars have resulted usually from jealousies due in a large degree to mutual misunderstandings," also that all such international questions ought to be submitted to arbitration. All right, we move that all such questions hereafter arising be sent to the Civic Federation for adjustment.

No one need be staggered by the proposal of Industrialism to "take and hold" the means whereby we live—unless he wants to be. The plain truth of the matter is that they must be taken or they will never be held, and if not held by the workers they will never be operated by them. We mean just what we say in the declaration that we organize to "take and hold"—means whereby we live—the things we have created.

To the supremacy of the working class, that is to say, their mastery over the means of production and distribution, the one social necessity, the condition is that the workers shall understand how to organize and discipline themselves to the point where they can take and hold the means of production and distribution through an economic organization.

Only the declaration that the land is ownerless, that the mine, the shop, the mill, the factory, the railroad are ownerless, as far as an individual is concerned, will free the individual and establish "absolute individual freedom." And this declaration will be written in the constitution of the Industrial Commonwealth.

Economic justice, or that condition when labor receives and enjoys its full product, will mean wealth for the makers of wealth. Want and misery, with all the train of vices that follow, will pass away from the surface of the earth.

It is utterly useless to assert our rights unless we prepare to enforce them. All things co-operate with us to attain our ends, if we organize right and make an intelligent and adequate use of our power.

Emancipation comes not through concessions from capitalists, but by the effort of the workers to understand their own interests as distinguished from the interests of capitalists.

The greatest "world power" ever known is that which begins to loom before the horizon in the Industrial organization of the producers of wealth.

The Socialist who wants Socialism in our day is coming to see the practical side of Industrial Unionism, and opens up to him a new view and gives him fresh courage.

WORKING CLASS ECONOMICS

Conducted by James P. Thompson

Lesson I Continued

None but the "hired prize-fighters" of the capitalist class—who care nothing for the truth and only aim to keep the brains of the workers muddled and the slaves divided—would ever say that in the equation: one ton of coal equals one ounce of gold we equate some or all the natural properties of the two commodities. The statement is absurd in the face of it. True, they both have the common property of being material—but not of the same amount or kind; both have color, but one is yellow and the other is black; each has weight but one weighs an ounce and the other a ton.

"Such natural properties claim our attention only insofar as they effect the utility of those commodities making the use-values. But the exchange of commodities is evidently an act characterized by a total abstraction from use-values."

Q. Is one use-value just as good as another provided only it be present in sufficient quantity?

A. "Yes."

Q. One sort of wares are as good as another, if the values be equal?

A. "Yes."

Q. There is no difference or distinction in things of equal value?

A. "No."

Q. Is a hundred dollars' worth of lead or iron of as great value as a hundred dollars' worth of silver or gold?

A. "Certainly."

Q. As use-values commodities are above all—what?

A. "Of different qualities."

Q. As exchange values they are merely—what?

A. "Different quantities."

Q. If we leave out of consideration the use-value of commodities, they have only one common property left—what is that common property?

A. "That of being products of human labor."

Q. If we make abstraction from the use-value of a product do we make abstraction at the same time from the material elements and shapes that make it a use-value?

A. "Certainly."

Q. Do we see it any longer as a table, a house, yarn, or any other useful thing?

A. "No."

Q. What becomes of its existence as a material thing?

A. "It is put out of sight."

Q. Can it any longer be regarded as the product of the labor of the joiner, the mason, the spinner, or of any other definite kind of productive labor?

A. "No."

Q. Along with the useful qualities of the products themselves, do we put out of sight both the useful character of the various kinds of labor embodied in them and the concrete forms of that labor?

A. "Yes."

Q. Is there anything left but what is common to them all?

A. "No."

Q. To what are they all reduced?

A. "To one and the same sort of labor—human labor in the abstract."

[Note: In order to make this clear let us suppose that three circles represent the use-values of three different kinds of commodities, a watch, a pair of shoes and a coat, and that a black spot within each circle represents the labor embodied in them. It is plain

to see that regardless of their different use-values, that is to say, their different bodily forms, they all have the common property of being products of labor, i. e., of having human labor embodied in them.

Now if we abstract from the material elements and shapes that make them use-values, if their existence as material things is put out of sight, they are all reduced to that one common property; of being products of human labor, each of the three black dots represents labor; "but even the product of labor itself has undergone a change in our hands." We see in them no longer a watch, a pair of shoes, a coat or any other useful thing, neither can they any longer be regarded as the product of the labor of the watchmaker, the shoemaker, the tailor or any other definite kind of productive labor; there is nothing left but what is common to them all; all are reduced to one and the same sort of labor—human labor in the abstract. Let us now consider the residue of each of these products of labor.

Q. Does it consist of the same substantial reality in each?

A. "Yes."

Q. Of a mere conglomeration of homogeneous human labor, of labor-power expended without regard to the mode of its expenditure?

A. "Yes."

Q. All that these things now tell us is—what?

A. "That human labor-power has been expended in their production, that human labor is embodied in them."

Q. When looked at as crystals of this social substance, common to them all, they are—what?

A. "Values."

Q. We have seen, have we not, "that when commodities are exchanged, their exchange value manifests itself as something totally independent of their use-values?"

A. "Yes."

Q. If we abstract from their use-value, what remains?

A. "Their value as defined above."

Q. What is the common substance that manifests itself in the exchange value of commodities whenever they are exchanged?

A. "Their value."

[Note: "The progress of our investigation will show that exchange value is the only form in which the value of commodities can manifest itself or be expressed. For the present, however, we have to consider the nature of value independently of this, its form."

Q. When does a use-value, or useful thing have value?

A. "When human labor in the abstract has been embodied or materialized in it."

Q. How is the magnitude of this value to be measured?

A. "By the quantity of the value-creating substance, the labor, contained in the article."

Q. How is the quantity of labor measured?

A. "By its duration, in weeks, days and hours."

Q. If the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor embodied in it why would not the product of the most idle and unskilled laborer be the most valuable as more time would be required in its production?

A. "Because the value of a commodity is determined by the average time necessary in its production: the time socially necessary."

Q. What is meant by the labor-time socially necessary to produce an article?

A. "The time required under the normal conditions of production and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time."

[To be continued.]

A Truce Declared

Alex Scheffel, secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World Capmakers' Union, New York, announces that the A. F. of L. union in that trade has ended with a tacit recognition of the I. W. W. card.

On February 27th, two I. W. W. men, Gittleman and Meyer, went to work in the shop of Lang & Sons, 81 Bleeker street, which is an A. F. of L. shop. When the shop chairman discovered that the two men were members of the I. W. W. he called all his men out on strike against them, saying:

"If you were non-union men, we might work with you, but not while you are members of the Industrial Workers."

The "text" morning, however, all hands were at work again. Later in the day Levine, organizer of the old capmakers, appeared, and asked to see the cards of the two I. W. W. men. When they were procured and shown to him, he studied them a while, and finally ordered the shopman to allow the men to work. The two unions have now been working side by side in this shop for over a week without friction.

John Kortan Expelled

Saginaw, Mich. John Kortan, 68, 941, expelled Jan. 9, 1907, by unanimous vote of Union 130, in accordance with constitution as amended, Dec. Journal (Sec. 64), owes \$80.00 loan; refuses to pay it. No quorum held. Has been acting as organizer for I. W. W. and been member since January, 1906, so he stated. Defied Union to expel him, flouted I. W. W. card and said would stick to that. Afterward read paper abusing union and all its officers and wound up by saying he withdrew from union forever, after which he left the hall. Has considerable following here. Claim made that he contemplates suing International union in United States courts. Has been source of much annoyance to local for long time. Opposing everything seems to be the tactic of his and his following, which has tried in vain to establish branch of I. W. W. here, backed by socialist labor party followers.

Union No. 130.

The Organization Committee of the New York Industrial Council has taken up the matter of organizing the insurance agents of New York. All insurance men interested in building up an I. W. W. organization are requested to communicate with George H. Vaughan, Secretary New York Industrial Council, 26 Read street.

More Organizers—More Money

When were we ever in a more pleasant and, withal, a more exasperating predicament?

The demands on the General Headquarters for organizers are so overwhelming, so urgent, are so impatient, that every available man in the movement could be sent out immediately without half satisfying the demand. We have already about 14 organizers in the field, all of whom show results, but the General Headquarters has barely got the funds to keep them going. Some of these organizers are a light burden on the treasury, it being that they pay a large part of their expenses by the sales of literature. However, even so, the slender resources of the central body are not much for so extraordinary a situation.

The last convention committed the unpardonable error of cutting down the per capita tax to 15 cents at a time when the organization was subjected to exceptional expense, due to the tactics of traitors and tools of the capitalist class. We are now suffering the consequences of this error. We have weakened the arm of the central body when its strength is most needed and could be expended to incalculable advantage.

Such is the situation that we could easily meet in the third convention with a membership of 100,000 if the central body had the means to cope with the situation. Shall we be stupid enough to let this brilliant opportunity slip by? Shall our delegates meet in the third convention only to have to wince under the realization that the membership have not done their best to increase and strengthen the organization?

The whole world of labor, in all civilized countries, is watching the I. W. W. and are taking their cue from it. The I. W. W. is acknowledged to be pointing the way—emancipation through industrial organization.

Are we awake to the situation? Are we willing to make any sacrifices for the sake of such an organization as the I. W. W.?

It is up to the membership in localities with many locals to pay their own organizers, thus relieving the general treasury to that extent. It is up to other localities to engage new organizers as soon as possible at their own expense. The central body has no funds except such as it receives from the membership.

It is, finally, up to all locals and individual members to collect funds immediately to relieve the situation, to enable the central body to meet at least a part of the demands for organizers until some other provision can be made for raising funds. Locals and individuals should raise immediately an emergency organizing fund and remit the money to the General Headquarters, Room 310, Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill. If you are earnest I. W. W. men, do not be niggardly now. Every dollar contributed now counts for more now than it has ever done. Without such funds we have to stand helplessly by and see the finest opportunities pass by.

The proletarian spirit of the whole country is aroused. Shall we allow this splendid enthusiasm to wear itself out for lack of attention? We cannot afford it! So let us all get together quickly and relieve the situation by contributions more generous than ever to the Emergency Organizing fund. Yours for the Revolution.

JOHN SANDBERG
 Local 173, I. W. W.,
 San Francisco, Cal.

The Jury Disagreed

The jury in the Steve Adams trial, as we anticipated a week ago, failed to agree. The twelve men divided on class lines, and while the Mine Owners' Association will never be able to convict Adams of the murder of Tyler, they will endeavor to hold him on other charges. He will probably have to remain in jail until the fall, but it is not unlikely that the final disposition of the case will be in the hands of the Supreme Court in his discharge. The capitalist press of the country, it is to be noted, systematically suppressed the argument of Clarence Darrow in this case, which fact, in view of the very general report of every circumstance favorable to the conspirators, constitutes another denunciation of the millionaire-owned newspapers.

In the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case the attorneys for the defense argued a motion on a court at Caldwell last Thursday for the dismissal of the case on statutory grounds. The statutes of Idaho provide that a suit which goes over two terms requires a new indictment. But the prosecution will, no doubt, carry its illegal wiles to the limit. They are desperate and will try every trick trial out on an expired indictment. Their purpose is nevertheless to keep our comrades and fellow-workers in jail, if they cannot hang them, and the prospect is that their dastardly plans will succeed.

Benjamin Futter and Isador Diamond, two of the I. W. W. men engaged in the recent strike against A. Beller & Co., clockmakers, of 124 Fifth Avenue, New York, were acquitted by Justices Ohmsted, Duell and McKean in Special Session on charges of assault and battery brought against them by Frank Florich, who supplied Beller with strike breakers during the six weeks' struggle. Florich's case was completely torn down by Grauer and Rathkopf, the attorneys for defense. The acquittal was unanimous by the three judges.

Japan possesses 2,000 newspapers, and when it is remembered that 25 years ago it did not publish a single journal, this rapid growth must be regarded as one of the most brilliant achievements in journalistic history.

Get the Stenographic Report

To anyone sending in ten yearly subscriptions, with \$5.00, for the Industrial Union Bulletin, we will send postpaid a copy of the Official Stenographic Report of the Industrial Workers of the World Convention of 1906. It is a book of 620 pages, and should be read by every member of the I. W. W. The price of the book is \$1.00 to any address.

LOCAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Minutes of the session of the Local Executive Board held at Bush Temple, February 22nd, 1907. Present: Lillian Forberg, P. E. Lawson, E. S. Payment, B. Stone, J. Plummer.

Letters were read from Fellow-workers J. T. Noonan, E. J. Lund, A. Maichele and H. Gunn of Schenectady, New York, telling that J. O'Neill, Editor of the "Miners' Magazine," and C. G. Kirkpatrick, formerly president of the now dissolved Metal and Machinery department, were in Schenectady carrying on active campaigns against the I. W. W. In the opinion of these fellow-workers in a letter sent to headquarters and also to the Executive Board, it was suggested that Secretary Lillian Forberg visit Schenectady at an early date. Just previous to the meeting of the Advisory Board, a telegram was received from Fellow-worker H. Gunn saying, "I advise, come down immediately."

Lawson moved that the Executive Board recommend that Secretary Lillian Forberg proceed as early as possible to Schenectady and suggested that Organizer Thompson would be a suitable man for several weeks' work there, provided he meets with acceptance of the Schenectady locals. Motion made by Forberg that during the absence of Secretary Lillian Forberg, the Secretary of the Local Executive Board act as Secretary-Treasurer.

A letter was read from E. O. Lytle of Cripple Creek, Colorado, stating that a number of old members of Federal Union No. 19, A. L. U., had met, and he decided to reorganize the I. W. W. He had asked for full information. Secretary Trautmann was instructed to send constitution and all other information.

A letter was read from Secretary J. Easton of Local No. 306, Reno, Nevada, stating that the reactionists had gone out of the local, and that the prospects for Industrial Unionism in that vicinity are bright.

A letter was read from Secretary E. J. Easton of Local No. 1, W. W. Local, San Francisco, Cal., enclosing a copy of call to a Moyer-Haywood protest meeting.

A letter was read from Secretary Howard of Local No. 8, Kansas City, Mo., stating that a fund had been started in their local for the purpose of securing an organizer for that city, and he asked if it be possible for the I. W. W. to send an organizer, for the purpose of organizing the workers in the packing houses and other industries. The local was in communication with the I. W. W. in Omaha, seeking their co-operation.

A letter was read from E. B. Bartholme of Local No. 1, Denver, Colorado, stating that it was necessary for an organizer of the I. W. W. to be placed in Denver as quickly as possible, and urging the board to take some action in the matter.

A letter was read from A. Bohling, stating that he had been requested by a number of I. W. W. men in Denver to ask headquarters for putting an organizer in the field and volunteering his personal assistance.

A letter was read from G. Moriconi of Chicago, Kansas, stating that a special meeting of the local on January 23rd had been held and that the actions of the convention were endorsed, and a request was made to place an organizer in that vicinity.

Secretary Trautmann read the correspondence which had been passed between him and M. Feder, a cigar manufacturer of Cleveland, Ohio, informing of the discrimination against I. W. W. men. A letter was also read from the local of Cleveland, thanking Secretary Trautmann for the action taken and announcing that the letters had a desired effect and the trouble was adjusted.

A letter was read from Organizer Fox, asking for a supply of leaflets, and stating that he was endeavoring to work up all the locals in the district to the duty of continued agitation. He will be in Indianapolis in the coming week.

A letter was read from Organizer Barton, now in Nelson, B. C., where he had gone to meet Executive Board member Haslewood. He reported that the I. W. W. local in Greenwood is now in good condition and its members clear as to the situation.

A communication was read from Local No. 85 as follows: "It is my duty to let you know of a resolution that was adopted by a unanimous vote at the last meeting of Local No. 85. After two or three motions had been made, it was finally moved as substitute of the whole and gave general satisfaction. Resolved: We recommend the charge brought in by Duncan against our Fellow-worker Forberg be investigated by the Advisory Board, and if Mrs. Forberg's explanations are proved correct, Duncan is to be expelled from the I. W. W. Also we retain Mrs. Forberg as organizer, because she is trustworthy and efficient." (Signed Mrs. Orr, Sec'y Local No. 85.)

P. F. Lawson stated to the Board in explanation, that C. H. Duncan, who was at the convention as delegate from Spokane, had taken upon himself to write to a number of local criticisms of what was being done at headquarters

and criticisms of organizers, and also through the columns of the "Daily People" made a false and unwarranted attack on the I. W. W. in Chicago. It was shown to the Board that Organizer Forberg had been putting in very effective work amongst the clothing workers on the west side and the results were not at first very apparent. Last week, however, the Independent Cloakmakers of the west side had come over in a body and asked Fellow-worker Forberg to be present to organize them into the I. W. W. In the meantime, she had succeeded in getting the names of a great number of applicants for admission, which will be placed in the local to be organized on that side, and that those familiar with her work and who had attended meetings where she had spoken, were satisfied that her services were entirely efficient.

By request of Local No. 85, Fellow-worker Forberg presented the following charges:—"First—Shortly after the close of the second annual convention of the I. W. W., C. H. Duncan wrote to George Abbott of Butte, Montana, 'That M. P. Haggerty would not serve as Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.' This statement was false and having been written to one of the reactionist delegates of the late convention, and a known enemy of the organization, could only have been made for the purpose of injuring the Industrial Workers of the World. Second—C. H. Duncan took a circular letter of Chas. H. Moyer from the general headquarters and stayed away from the office for three weeks afterward, and it took considerable time to find out where that circular letter was. When asked to explain this action, he stated that he had sent the letter to Anna Tewksbury of Seattle. This explanation was false, as Miss Tewksbury never saw that letter; Third—C. H. Duncan wrote letters to different local unions, making false statements concerning the stenographic report of the late convention, endeavoring to stop orders that might be given for the report. My charge is that all of the above actions are unbecoming a member of the I. W. W. and that if C. H. Duncan is a member, his local union should be informed of his actions and be asked to suspend him from membership." (Signed, Lillian Forberg.)

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100	497	Postage stamps	1.00

Meeting of the Board, Saturday, February 23rd, 1907. Present: P. F. Lawson, L. M. Forberg, J. Plummer and B. Stone.

A letter was read from Vincent St. John, approving of the placing of a bond for \$5,000.00 on the Secretary-Treasurer, and also approving all the actions of the Local Board, as they had been sent to him; suggesting, however, that for the present Organizer Barton would be sent to the field for work in Montana without going to British Columbia. He also suggested that steps should be taken to give all Western Federation of Miners' locals full information in regard to the standing of the I. W. W. and that when their convention is called they will be in a position to vote intelligently.

The General Secretary was instructed to take up the suggestion of Fellow-worker St. John with regard to Organizer Barton, and to get fuller information in regard to the standing of the I. W. W. in the British Columbia. The present, and to lay same before the Local Board.

A letter was read from Organizer Barton from Rosland, B. C., where he stated that he expected to put in a local during the coming week. He found a splendid sentiment in the I. W. W. Union there towards the I. W. W. In another letter Organizer Barton reported that he and Haslewood had started up a fine local in Nelson, B. C., with thirty-seven members, twenty-three more in the week. He reported that Haslewood had to leave for the hospital in Grand Forks, having been taken very sick.

A letter was read from Fellow-worker George S. Holmes, of Los Angeles, stating that the I. W. W. transportation local had been organized in San Pedro, and that Fellow-worker Begovich would immediately forward charter application and fee.

A letter was read from Organizer Wm. R. Fox, who stated that Safe Workers' Local No. 73 of Cincinnati, O., had unanimously endorsed the acts of the second convention of the I. W. W., and instructed their secretary to recognize the new executive board as the administrative head of the I. W. W.

A letter was read from A. J. Francis, secretary of the Clothing Workers' Industrial Union No. 59 of New York, stating that the final amalgamation of the clothing workers had taken place on Feb. 22nd, and was made up as follows:

Branch 1, Cloth Examiners and Springers.

Branch 2, Ladies' Waist Makers.

Branch 3, Cloak Makers. Old Local 61.

Branch 4, Gents' Tailors. Old Local 59.

Branch 5, Ladies' Tailors. Old Local 166.

Branch 6, Italian Tailors. (Uptown.) Old Local 109.

Branch 7, Italian Tailors. (20th St.) Old Local 109.

Branch 8, Italian Tailors. (Downtown.) Old Local.

Branch 9, Irish Tailors. (Brooklyn.) Old Local.

Branch 10, Jewish Ladies' Tailors. Old Local 227.

Letter 1 was read from Organizer Walsh, relating to the trouble in Seattle. He reported that the Italian local, he climatic and every other way, were very hard, but believed that effective work could be started in about three months. He specially recommended two good workers of San Francisco, Joseph J. Etnow and George Speed. The Italian local, he climatic and every other way, were very hard, but believed that effective work could be started in about three months. He specially recommended two good workers of San Francisco, Joseph J. Etnow and George Speed. The Italian local, he climatic and every other way, were very hard, but believed that effective work could be started in about three months. He specially recommended two good workers of San Francisco, Joseph J. Etnow and George Speed.

an entering wedge for Industrial Unionism. Communication was read from A. J. Francis, secretary of the Industrial Council of New York, enclosing by-laws. Same was referred to a committee consisting of the General Secretary, Fellow Workers Forberg and Lawson.

On motion the Advisory Board adjourned to meet Sunday morning.

Adjourned meeting of the Advisory Board met Sunday, Feb. 10th, 11 a. m. Present:—Stone, Forberg, Lawson.

General Secretary Trautmann, who had just arrived from Schenectady, gave the following report:—"My arrival in Schenectady I met a committee of about ten, including Executive Board member A. Maichele, in the headquarters of the I. W. W., who explained the situation. Immediately after the close of the last convention, the members of the I. W. W. were supplied with the Miners' Magazine, which was sent to the houses of all the members. While most of the unions had endorsed the actions of the convention, yet there was a secret propaganda carried on by a few individuals, and rumors were circulated and agitation spread to establish an independent organization, with the object of later on turning out the independent organization into the camp of the reactionists. Owing to the fact that the propaganda was carried on in such an underhand way, it was impossible to trace the matter up to its real origin, until the strike in the General Electric Co. revealed the agitators, and a few self-appointed leaders, who thought that the winning of the strike would promote their own selfish interests. As the strike was lost, owing to this brief report, the agitators placed themselves as leaders before the rank and file. (There are 17,000 people employed in the General Electric Co.)

"The movement for an independent organization gained ground more and more, and the so-called Industrial Council of Metal and Machinery unions, endorsed the scheme originating in the brains of the agitators to have a referendum vote on the question of withdrawing from the I. W. W. The two largest locals, however, in meetings assembled, repudiated the actions of said council, and thereupon the reactionist thought that they could pack the next meetings of those two locals for the purpose of carrying their plans into execution, and, if possible, disrupt the movement. Kirkpatrick was brought to Schenectady for the purpose of staying there a week, and John O'Neill, the editor of the Miners' Magazine, who was engaged by the reactionists as a speaker at the Moyer-Haywood and Pettibone Defense Meeting, remained in Schenectady a week, and helped in the concoction of schemes which tended to disintegrate the solid movement in that place.

"The action of the Local Executive Board in sending me there was assailed by the followers of Charles H. Noonan, formerly executive board member of the now dissolved metal and machinery department, yet the committee which conferred with me on this matter agreed that that was the only logical step to save the situation.

"It was reported that the American Locomotive Works, with approximately six thousand employed, could be organized, and such a demand had been made, but the reactionists always present action on this request under the subterfuge that organizing work should not be proceeded with until the controversy at headquarters had been settled, or the vote of the membership on the referendum to withdraw counted.

"In the two mass meetings held in Schenectady I managed to clear up the situation and refute the statements and falsehoods circulated by the reactionists, and met face to face in meetings with those who advocated the independent organization, with the result that the members who attended the meetings fully endorsed the actions of the convention, and pledged their support to the general organization in reorganizing the workers in Schenectady and vicinity on the lines as laid down at the last convention.

"The following resolution was passed unanimously in the mass meeting:—"We, the undersigned, in mass meeting assembled declare: Industrial unionism, in its forms and purposes, was elaborately explained and its tenets made clear in the manifesto issued in January, 1905, to all workers of this land, and cheerfully and with enthusiastic response accepted by all, and embodying the requirements that are essential and necessary for the construction of an economic organization of the working class, based on the recognition of the irreconcilable class conflict in society.

"Industrial unionism, as thus propagated, implied the organizing of the workers on lines as copied from present day institutions controlled by the capitalist class with the aid of the manifold agencies at their command, for the attainment of immediate and final results for the entire working class the world over.

"Industrial unionism being the appeal in response to which the workers of Schenectady made efforts to organize their forces as they believed to be correct and in accordance with the basic structure mapped out in the manifesto.

"But finding that the first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, for reasons explained, compromised the issue and failed to embody in the making-up of the governing rules of the organization the fundamental principles as exposed in that memorable manifesto, and finding further that the second convention, guided by the dire, yet whole-some experience of 15 months' labor and efforts, at the command and request of the workers, the organization was reconstituted on the basis of the principles as expressed in resolution and in the plain instructions to their delegates, reaffirmed its positions on the basic features, forms, principles and immediate and final aims of the Industrial Workers of the World as laid down in the manifesto, and the organization was reconstituted on the basis of the principles as expressed in resolution and in the plain instructions to their delegates, reaffirmed its positions on the basic features, forms, principles and immediate and final aims of the 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Call and Invitation

To the International Socialist and Workingmen's Organizations at Stuttgart in August, 1907.

International Socialist Bureau, People's Palace, Brussels, Nov. 10, 1906.

All Socialist Parties and Associations and All Workingmen's Organizations: The next International Socialist Congress will be held at Stuttgart (Württemberg, Germany) from the 10th to the 24th of August, 1907.

The International Socialist Bureau, constituted in 1902 with a view to carrying on the work and giving effect to the resolutions of International Congresses, in conformity with the decisions arrived at by the Congresses of London (1866) and Paris (1900), invites to the Congress at Stuttgart:

1. All associations which adhere to the essential principles of Socialism: socialization of the means of production and distribution; international union and action of the workers; conquest of public powers by the proletariat, organized as a class party;

2. All the constituent organizations which accept the principle of a class struggle and recognize the necessity for political action (legislative and parliamentary) but do not participate directly in the political movement (International Congress held in Paris 1900).

Should you desire to adhere to the above essential principles, the International Socialist Bureau requests you to put on the agenda of your next meeting the participation of your association in the Congress of Stuttgart and to decide at the same time, which questions, in your opinion, ought to be debated at that Congress.

Although unwilling to limit in any way your right of initiative, the Bureau in order to ensure the success of the Congress, hopes that questions already settled at previous Congresses will not be made the subject of discussion at Stuttgart. In its sitting of 10th November, moreover, a provisional agenda was drawn up, covering the questions referred to the Congress of Stuttgart by previous Congresses, and questions deemed to be of vital importance today as well as matters of procedure of an urgent nature.

These questions are the following:

1. The approval of the resolutions of the International Socialist Bureau.
2. The regulations of the International Congresses and of the International Socialist Bureau; the constitution of the Inter-parliamentary Commission.
3. Militarism and International conflicts.
4. The intercourse between Socialist Labor parties and Trade Unions.
5. The colonial question.
6. The immigration and emigration of foreign labor.

All organizations wishing to put other questions on the agenda are requested to send the text with explanatory report, together with the resolutions voted at previous Congresses, to the Secretary's office of the International Socialist Bureau, before April 1st, 1907.

These documents will be published at the same time as the reports and resolutions bearing on the questions relating to the provisional agenda and forwarded, on or about May 1st, 1907, to all affiliated parties and organizations. We beg, however, to remind the latter that the invitation to send a report on the I. S. B., printed in the periodical reports of the Secretary's office. We have finally decided upon the publication of the reports of the national secretaries on the activity of their parties and workers' organizations since the Congress of Amsterdam (1904) to January 1st, 1907, before the Congress of Stuttgart. These reports, intended to present to our comrades from all countries an objective and accurate statement of the Socialist and Labor movement, should reach the I. S. B. Secretary's office about February 1st, under no circumstances later than February 15th. As these documents must be published in three languages—in German, English and French—it is of the greatest importance that this ruling should be strictly observed.

With reference to the material organization of the Congress, we are pleased to inform you that, acting in concert with our German comrades, we have already taken the necessary steps to facilitate our work and ensure a pleasant visit to Stuttgart for all delegates. The Congress will meet in the Liederhalle, which gives ample accommodation for 1,000 delegates, as well as a number of committee rooms for the use of the various sections. The local Commission will publish a guide to the town and its environs; will appoint deputy commissions to arrange for lodgings and to superintend entertainment; will organize specially qualified grounds to direct foreign comrades and look after their comfort, and will place special accommodation at the disposal of the press, arranging also for a branch postoffice in the Congress Hall. In conjunction with the Secretariat of the I. S. B., the local Commission will establish a depot of Socialist newspapers and Socialist literature, and we appeal to all Socialist publishers and editors to make this a complete center of distribution for Socialist writings. Lastly the Secretariat will publish in three languages—German, French and English—a short report of the meetings of committees as well as of the proceedings itself; so that all delegates may more conveniently and readily follow the doing of the entire Congress from day to day.

In order to facilitate preparatory work, we beg the delegates to give notice of their participation as soon as possible. They will receive the provisions, cards, which, after verification of credentials, will be exchanged for definite cards, at the price of 10 fr. 8mk. 5 sh. each.

The address of the local Commission will be forwarded during the month of January, 1907.

We earnestly adjure all Socialist and Labor newspapers and reviews to advertise the present city and give it all possible publicity. We hope that the Congress of Stuttgart will be worthy of the growing power of international social democracy, we beg our dear com-

rades to receive our sincerest fraternal greetings.

The International Socialist Bureau: Argentina: A. Cambler, M. Ugarte. Australia: P. J. O'Meara. Austria: Dr. V. Adler, F. Skarek. Bohemia: A. Nemec, F. Skarek. Bulgaria: V. Sakasoff, G. K. Krow. Denmark: P. Knudsen, C. M. Olsen. Finland: V. J. Syrjä, E. Walpas. France: J. Jaures, E. Valliant. Great Britain: H. Hyndman, J. Keir Hardie.

Germany: A. Behl, P. Singer. Holland: P. Troelstra, H. Van Kol. Hungary: J. Welter, Dr. A. Goldner. Italy: E. Ferri, F. Turati. Japan: S. Katayama.

Luxembourg: Dr. Wolter, J. P. Probst. Norway: S. Garber, F. Wolf. Poland: Dr. H. Diamand, R. Luxemburg.

Russia: G. Plechanoff, E. Routhanovitch. Serbia: M. Stoyanovitch. Spain: P. Iglesias, F. Mora.

Sweden: H. Branting, C. G. T. Wickman. Switzerland: O. Rappin, J. Sigg.

United States: D. De Leon, M. Hillquit.

The Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau (Belgium): Edouard Vaillant, Emile Vandervelde, Camille Huysmans, Secretary.

On Strikes

There may be occasions when a strike is unavoidable, or when the prospects for a successful issue are apparent. To such strikes this short article does not apply.

Fundamentally and theoretically the strike is wrong as a means of economic warfare, with due allowance for special cases as indicated above. The strike is wrong, because, when going on strike we divorce ourselves from the tool of production, and in doing so we divorce ourselves from our bread and butter. A strike is thus essentially a "hunger strike," and in dealing with modern highly organized capitalism is by its very nature limited in effectiveness.

The strikes of the past, excepting those organized and manipulated by labor fakirs or competing capitalists, have been the more or less unconscious revolt, against economic oppression. Every We of the Industrial Workers of the World, claiming to have based our organization not only on its natural basis of material interest, but on a knowledge of social forces, should not allow ourselves to be mastered by unconscious instincts or spontaneous outbursts. Every act of ours should be a conscious and deliberate act, undertaken with a full knowledge of all facts and possibilities involved. If strikes we shall have, let us inaugurate them and conduct them in a manner consistent with the tenets of organization, and do not let us be lifted off our feet by the clamorous impatience of men who, acting on the spur of the moment, interpret an injury to one as an injury to all to mean that the whole organization's welfare should be jeopardized for the sake of one of its parts.

Strikes that are lost, and most of them are, are lost because there is no economic organization of sufficient strength behind them. Strikes that are won, and few of them are, are won because there is an economic organization of sufficient strength behind them. In each case it is a question of building up of the organization. What we want is an organization formidable enough in strength to dictate terms, without subjecting ourselves to the self-inflicted injury of starvation and misery, incidental to a cessation of work. What we want to do is to organize so that we can stay at work, on our own terms, whether the master wants it or not, and finally, so that we can declare a complete lock-out of the capitalist class from the control of the tool of production.

This is a thing to be remembered by the membership of the I. W. W. We should not let our enthusiasm for an enthusiasm to give battle to the master class blindly engage in any wildcat strikes, and send surprise telegrams to General Headquarters, say, "Strike on—get funds!" The funds of the central body can be more profitably expended for organization purposes than for strike benefits. One thousand dollars spent for organization may enable us to add thousands of men to our organization, while it will feed 100 men on strike only for a week or so, with chances 2 to 1 that nothing is gained by the strike.

The central body of the I. W. W. has only such scanty funds as are contributed by the membership, and is unequal to cope with a number of wildcat strike propositions, however anxious they be to assist. Our strength does not lie in a treasury piled up for eventual strike benefits, but in expending every penny as soon as it comes in for organizing purposes. A reiteration of ill-advised strikes is sure to prove embarrassing to our central body, and any injury to that body is sure to be felt by the whole organization.

JOHN SANDGREN.

Local Union No. 73, Louisville, Ky., a loyal union of the I. W. W., received notice from Sherman's "secretary" brought from New York to do the bidding of the reactionists—that it had been "expelled for non-payment of dues." The return of charter was also "requested." The reply of the local was that Sherman or his "secretary" should "come and get it."

I. W. W. meetings every Sunday except the 4th at Eagle Hall, corner Fifth Avenue and Smithfield street, Pittsburgh, Pa., at 2:30 p. m. sharp. Good speakers at every meeting. Admission free.

The association of employers at "Humboldt," Germany, have engaged strike breakers from England, to win the strike of long. Only those who agree to and nights are accepted. breakers, it is reported, "negotiations" there are "sells in the harbor to" "tling into communi- sented workmen

HIS HONOR, THE MAYOR OF ROSSLAND

By F. W. HENLEWOOD

For the benefit of men who never followed the actions of the above named gent, and who are not good judges of a labor fakir when they see one, this extract of any of the assertions contained herein are questioned. I hope they will take the pains to inquire for themselves.

I especially wish to deal with the gentleman from the time he was nominated in the Western Federation of Miners' convention last year, in Denver, up to the present time. There will be no need to delve farther back into his record, as a little of this is as good as a feast.

It is a fact that Peter McDonald was elected in Denver to attend the I. W. W. convention in Chicago, although it is known that he tricked Ryan, of Jerome, Arizona, out of his votes. Peter voted for himself, while Ryan, true to his promise to Peter, did not vote; however, this amounts to very little, except for the fact that Ryan voted for himself, he would have been elected over Peter. It had never been known before his election that he was a delegate to the convention, but he was elected on the principles and promises of the Industrial Workers of the World, although we recognize now the great mistake that was made by the delegates, "of whom I was one myself," in not putting the candidates on record before they were elected. But Peter was elected to the front crash came when Kirwan asked for the delegates and alternates to be given five minutes each to find out how they stood on the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World. But five minutes were not enough for this great Snartus in the labor movement. He went to the front to make his little speech. He talked all around this question, which could be answered in five seconds as to whether he endorsed the preamble or not. He talked for 15 minutes, but no answer. He twisted and squirmed, grinned and laughed, but no answer from the delegates. He was the struggle against the master class. After 15 minutes, Melnick, the president of Phoenix Union and Feltham, the president of Moxye Union, tried to get him to say "yes" or "no." But the wily Peter answered these brothers by saying, "The question came to me late on record and I will not answer." Nearly every man in the hall immediately saw that a disruption had been elected to go to Chicago to do something to educate the wage-class, but it was a case of locking the door after the horse had got away. The question came to me late on record and I will not answer. 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